/101 cont./

361 [101] There were two settlements of "docile" Bakaïrí: the aldeament on the Rio Novo, as this first was called, after a tributary of the Arinós, and the aldeament on the Paranatinga. The two villages are not yet old; all the adults were born farther up the Paranatinga, on the "Salto" /waterfall; see the glossary, [131] p. 172 /; the Bakaïrí, however, were probably spread over this entire region in small hordes, as is shown by the fact that they were noted as far as the Rio das Mortes. In the 'twenties, when 179 648 797 the gold-seeker expedition under the leadership of P. Lopez pushed into this region, they were converted to Christianity, on which occasion, as Reginaldo related, his grandfather and many others lost their lives.

●823 /102/ We eagerly inquired as to whether he knew about a river beyond the Paranatinga? Today, he replied, this region is [131] completely strange to them, he remembered from his youth, [101] however, that one was supposed to come to a large river if one went from the Paranatinga toward the rising sun, and on this river there were said to be Bakaïrí still living, the "antiguos" /the ancients/, who were not Christians.

361 The two aldeamente are under the administration of the 648 "Director dos Indios" in Cuyabá /Cuiabá/. Reginaldo is a [622] Brazilian captain, his successor as chief of the tribe, Joaquim, 361 is a lieutenant. Our seeing no women was due to the fact that they were living in an aldeament two legoas away; the huts which we occupied were used only when the farm work required it or when there were visitors. Reginaldo /illustration appears here/ completely forgot to say how sorry he was that he could greet us only as a grass widower.

[162] The village numbered six huts; the population amounted 342 to 55: 16 men, 19 women, 20 children. The soldiers were usually quartered in the big house that Reginaldo otherwise occupied with a few others: a rectangle 57 paces long and five paces wide, which was divided into a number of separate rooms by means of partitions. We occupied the guest house -- it was only 17 paces [199] long. It was modern construction, learned from the colonists. Twenty minutes away we found two deserted old-style huts,

/165 cont./
609 mix for him -- whereas the boy of a Brazilian colonist, to whom I was called in Rosario, leaped out of bed and fled from me into the forest.

186 The old sibyl joined us this evening on the open plaza.
•823 She pointed to the west, "Bakaïrí"; to the south, "Bakaïrí!", to the north and east likewise "Bakaïrí!" and finally, describing a circle in the air, she summed up with proud satisfaction, "Bakaïrí!" In translation "All this is subject to me, admit that I am fortunate."

132 14 Aug. 6:00 A.M.: dry. 11.7, wet. 10.6.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 34.8, wet. 20.0, clear, NE 1.
4:05 P.M.: I 740.8, II 730.0, dry. 34.0, hypsom. 98.825.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 18.0, wet. 17.0.

126 /166/ I was fortunately able to measure three women.
[124] Antonio is very useless as an interpreter and causes more difficulties
[532] than the harmless people themselves. I also traded for a few maize-straw dolls, judging from the ease with which the transaction was made, there seemed to be no higher or in any sense a religious meaning attached to them.

592 We spent some time in Paubaga's, or rather Chief Cavéco's house, it differed in nothing essential from that of the professor; there were no straw dolls.

139 We found inhame (Dioscorea, yams), which we greeted
252 with joy. -- The fish are grilled on just such racks as we came across on the Batovy; they are exposed to the fire until they are encased in a thick charcoal crust; capybara leg, which tasted like fat fish, and monkey steak were also charred on the outside in this fashion. The crisp charcoal gives the insipid-tasting meat, which is not salted, an -- faute de mieux -- improved flavor. The
[243] Bakaïrí are also familiar with a very medicinal tasting salt made from tree ashes, which, however, they do not seem to use in the preparation of food.

609 The soldiers, who were paying their farewell visit, were
431 given generous quantities of beijús, puvas, and polvilho /manioc
252 flour; see the glossary, p.172 / as presents. The grated and pounded mandioca is pressed through mats; the pulp is put into

/51 cont./

226 beyond the cachoeira we counted 13 so-called "corrals" /corrals/, circles of boulders in shallower places in the river bed: the fish can enter through a gap in the circle and are then herded together by the Indians and shot. I was not a little surprised when, 223 51 farther downstream in quiet water, Antonio suddenly stated that a canoe had been here yesterday or the day before: all I noticed was a quantity of small white bubbles near the shore. The foam of the wet stroke is preserved in a path on calm water, not destroyed by waves, the air bubbles remain on the water and are gradually driven to the shore by the wind.

/52/ For two hours we rowed on vigorously, spoke but little and with a soft voice, and, cautiously on the lookout, proceeded into each new bend close to the inner edge. But all 34 signs had ceased. On either side lay tall, silent forest, the river glistened in the sunlight, nothing living stirred within a wide radius, and only a yellow butterfly fluttered past here and 133 there. Shortly before midday the stream bed opened into a rather wide inlet. one could not quite make out whether this was a lagoon or an inland formation and the river divided into two types. we landed and I sent the two off to cross the bit of wood: that separated us from the lagoon and to examine the course of the water beyond.

I sat on the beach waiting. Carlos was already coming 123 back, when suddenly I notice a canoe a gunshot downstream. 09 A single naked Indian is standing in it and swiftly making for the 50 shore. there he steers the vessel behind the skeleton of a fallen tree and cautiously crouches down in the shelter of it. "Bakairi, Bakairi," I cried with all my might, "nós Bakairi, ãma Bakairi, ãs Bakairi", we are Bakairi, you are a Bakairi, I am a Bakairi, the Bakairi are good" -- in short, I shout in joyful excitement whatever is inspired in me by the ghost of reminiscences from the greeting formulas of that particular tribe. And behold: "Bakairi, Bakairi, Bakairi" comes resounding back. Other words are added, which unfortunately I do not understand, but the high voice, rising in uncertainty, bears an unhappily anxious and mistrustful expression, and the arms swing wildly in the air behind

/55 cont./

B 101 131 361 On the very first evening I obtained a fairly clear conception of the Kulisehu dwellers whom we might see. There were three Bakaïrí villages; they were supposed to be followed by a village of the "Nahuquí," two villages of the "Minakú," a village of the "Auití," a village of the "Yaulapití," and on the "Kuluëne" a village of the "Trumaí." Between the Kulisehu and the Tamitatoala-Batovy, the "Kamayurá" and the "Waurá" were said to be living. The meaning of the river name "Kuluëne," which I now heard for the first time, remained uncertain. Only gradually did I come to understand that it is the chief river in the east, larger than the Kulisehu which empties into it. Thus the river that we had seen in 1884 flowing in from the southeast at Schingú-Koblenz /Xingu-Coblenz/ was not actually the "Kulisehu," as we had understood at that time and had believed up to now, but rather the combined Kuluëne-Kulisehu: the name "Kuluëne" was retained for the Schingú itself below the large fork, so that the Suyá, for instance, lived on the Kuluëne. If one wished to go by the nomenclature of the natives, one would have to use the name "Kuluëne" instead of "Schingú" and now say that the Kuluëne first receives the Kulisehu and then, at "Koblenz," the Ronuro along with the Tamitatoala-Batovy.

B 823 It was a difficult piece of work to get these statements from the Bakaïrí: there was much drawing in the sand, much pantomime carried on, and, if a section of the route remained obscure, they always began again from the beginning. For the B 101 time being I knew enough, the individual tribes apparently did T 114 not live very far apart, at most a journey of three days. I was also given some bad news, and I confess that for me it spoiled the hitherto very pleasant memory of the first expedition: when the Trumaí /56/ at that time at Koblenz had dashed away from us in sheer flight, and our soldiers had pursued them in order to recover some of the objects that they had taken along in spite of their haste, a Trumaí had been killed, as I now learned, in the foolhardy shooting that the men had permitted themselves and that allegedly was only aimed into the air. We could therefore hardly count on a cordial welcome there.

/69 cont./

276 in his mouth and light. The smoke was inhaled. They even smoked my heavy black tobacco in the same manner and in the same size, and they tolerated it without difficulty, although theirs was light as straw.

517 Not a sound came from the houses; the plaiting had been pushed in front of the entrance. Were the women not lying awake in the hammocks? The two araras, who during the day were in the habit of cawing from the roof poles, were asleep on a partly withered palm. No insects were annoying us. For two or three hours we sat under the star-studded dome of the heavens, surrounded all around by the dark mass of the woods. The smallest cloud that rose anywhere was observed and became the subject of a discussion about where from and where to. As soon as an animal sound became audible in the woods, everyone would be silent for a moment, waiting to see whether it was repeated, and then they would whisper to each other "a tapir," "an armadillo," or the like, while one man half mechanically whistled in imitation of the animal cry. There was also no lack of in-
517 voluntary sounds. Sucking sounds with saliva, belching, or break-
576 ing wind was not restrained. Bakaïrí sum, nihil humani a me
514 alienum puto. But the moment someone behaved too badly, there immediately followed, as a direct reflex movement of all the colleagues, a brief violent spitting to one side, without an interruption in the conversation. To be sure, if there were a
526 repetition, Tumayaua or Paleko would mutter something that seemed to mean, "Confound it, we have a guest, after all," and the culprit would lose himself in the shadows six paces away. It was very patriarchal.

● 823 We discussed in detail the subject most important for me,
829 the geography of the Kulisehu. The river was drawn in the sand, the tribes were enumerated and designated with maize kernels. Thus I gradually learned to understand the correct relationship of the Kulisehu and Kuluëne and learned that the main body of the Nahuquá tribes, each of which was designated by a special
829 name, lived on the Kuluëne. All people were either good,
577 "kúra," or bad, "kurípa." The distinction was made chiefly,

/69 cont./

829 577 as I noted to my astonishment, according to the extent of the hospitality that they offered; to be "kűra" meant not to let there be any lack of beijús and püserego, the flat cakes and the best paste-drink made of mandioca, at the reception. As far as the Nahuquá and possibly also the Mehinakű /Mehinacu/ were concerned, it was the same information, based in part on experience, in part on hearsay, which is regarded as the most important for our autumn journeys: good and bad hotels.

● 823 537 805 But what a difference between a printed Baedeker and this gesticulation, this sound-painting, this relentless creeping from one halting-place to another in the enumeration of stations! From where we are to the second Bakaïrí /70/ village one day's journey, from the second to the third two, and so on -- no, one did not race madly along like that in the good old days that I was experiencing here. First one sits down in the canoe, "pépi," and rows, rows, "pépi, pépi, pépi" -- one rows with paddles, dipping right and left, and one comes to rapids, bububu... How high it drops: with each bu, bu, the hand goes one step down from the top, and how frightened the women are and cry: "pekóto äh, äh, äh...!" At this spot the pépi -- a vigorous step toward the ground -- must be pushed forward through rocks, with what groaning, and the "mayáku," the carrying baskets, laboriously -- the left shoulder is tapped one, two, three times -- carried overland. But one climbs in again and rows, pépi, pépi, pépi. Far, far -- the voice soars ih....., so far ih....., and the mouth, pointed like a snout, while the head is convulsively bent back at the nape, shows in what direction of the compass ih..... Over this the sun sinks: the hand, outstretched as far as possible, reaches toward the west, describing an arc, and aims at the point in the sky where the sun will be standing when one -- lah.....á -- enters the harbor. Here we shall be among the: "Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí!" "Kűra, kűra!" and here we shall be well received. Perhaps one has also passed a place where there is good fishing, where "matrinchams" or "piranyas" are to be shot: whereas otherwise words have the accent on the penultimate syllable,

/70 cont./

823 805 [537] norókuˌ póne, it is now -- as though we were to say "Jahré" /the German word for "years," but with the accent on the final syllable/ -- transferred to the last one "norokú," "poné," and the arrow flies, tsök, tsök, from the bow.

Beyond the Nahuquá, however, where the knowledge of details becomes vague, only the days' journeys themselves are given. The right hand, slowly rising in even motion, describes an arc from east to west, arrives down there, and suddenly is laid on the cheek coming up to meet it, remains there while the eyes are wearily closed, and then grasps the little finger of the left hand: sleep once. Then again the same figure, but the ring finger is grasped with the little finger and both are drawn aside: sleep twice, and so forth. Be attentive, noble listener, for woe to you if you ask a question -- there is no other way to help you but to begin again from the beginning.

123 [802] But revenge is sweet. My turn also came, for they wanted to know how far it is to Cuyabá, my starting point. Their faces were priceless when I counted off, first, the fingers of my left hand, then my right, then, exactly according to their method of counting, went over the toes of the left foot and those of the right, traveled and slept between each two fingers and each two toes in the prescribed way, and finally had to grasp my hair, pulling it apart, to demonstrate that the number of days still did not extend far enough and was more than 20! Then they murmured their "kőu, kőu" of amazement or "őko, őko, he őko" more and more impatiently; all talked at once and finally joined in the hearty laughter of sheer disbelief.

186 /71/ Individual Indian tribes were also ridiculed in vivid pantomime on account of their peculiarities; the Nahuquá were funny because of their beards, the Suyá, or, as the Bakaïrí say, Schuyá, had to bear the brunt because of their cork-disk which they wore in the lower lip, for which the actors stretched their lower lip far forward and produced a made-up jargon of snapping tones; the Trumaí were imitated with a horrible "huhuhuhu" and, because of their barbaric habit of tossing war captives into the river with their hands tied behind them, were presented as objects partly of scorn or disgust, partly of fear.

B /132 cont./
123 Then he dragged up one of the nicely plaited storage baskets
43 three-quarters of a meter high and, boasting happily, put it be-
[285] fore us as a present. The best was yet to come, however. A
B round mat was placed on the ground, the chief called, and out
[262] of the houses all the women and children came running and slapped a beijú onto the mat, each one running back immediately to make room. The agile flurry with which the beijús came flying was charming. Some 16 cakes were lying there. Then "ále" was said and we were dismissed. We, of course, outdid ourselves in praise of the hospitality of the Bakaïrí and secretly made up our mind to pay them back handsomely in Independencia.

B Since a heavy thunderstorm broke out, we stayed in the vil-
123 lage the last night. It was raining in torrents outside and Tumayaua was describing his journeys. We all sat for a long time around the fire, which the Indians let blaze up wildly by recklessly tearing bunches of straw out of the wall of the festival hut. Luchu had taken possession of the black frock-coat as his sole article of clothing; another man had decorated his ear with a fishhook. My erstwhile intended - it pains me not to be able to keep this a secret -- honored me with scarcely a glance.

The song of woman's constancy!

000 /The remainder of Ch. VI, pp. 132-137, and Ch. VII, pp. 138-152, are omitted in the translation./

/153/ Chapter VIII

I. Geography and Classification of the Tribes of the Schingú Source-region

B S
101 The old chief of the Suyá, distinguished from his companions
131 by an extremely modest lip-plug, had enumerated for us in 1884
823 the long list of tribes that were settled on the upper Schingú
[115] /Xingu/ and with his finger had drawn in the sand the source rivers on whose banks they lived. Cf. Durch Central-brasilien /Through Central Brazil/, page 214 /see 1: Steinen, this file, pp. 104-106/. His 13 tribal names had tempted us to undertake

B S 101 131 823 /153 cont./ the second journey. By and large, one must say, the statements of our informant were confirmed. His river branchings, it is true, cannot satisfy the cartographic demands of our Karaiben exactitude, but even here he was more accurate than we could realize when we mistook the Kulisehu for the Kuluëne. But the astronomical position of the localities in relation to one another turned out to be completely distorted, since the Suyá needed a very long line to show the large number along the one branch of the source and blithely extended it endlessly to the south.

B 101 131 We do not know the dwellers along the Ronuro; Vogel understood the Auetö́ chief who navigated the mouth at Schingű-Koblenz with him to say that there are Kabischí /Cabishi/ and Kayapó /Cayapo/ there. The Kabischí about whom anything is known live in the source region of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ as part of the docile Paressí Indians; it would be most interesting and significant if the Paressí, like the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/, could be divided into a "docile" and a "wild" group, since it is precisely in this once populous and highly developed Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ tribe that the crude civilizing process has destroyed what cannot be replaced. It would not be surprising at all if the widely distributed Kayapó were on the Ronuro, since they frequently appeared on the Paranatinga and had merely been mistaken here for the Coroados-Bororő by the Brazilians.

B 101 103 131 361 Along the tributary of the Ronuro, the Batovy-Tamitotoala*,

* Formerly incorrectly written Tamitatoala. tamitóto, falcon, owl = they killed (schóle) a falcon, as the Bakaïrí themselves told me.

down which we traveled in 1884, there are four villages of the Bakaïrí. Its lower course and the adjacent region on the right belongs to the Kustenaú /Custenau/ and the Waurá.

/154/ There follows, toward the east, the Kulisehu. On its left bank we have the three villages of the Bakaïrí, Maigéri or "tapir died," Iguéti or sparrow-hawk village, Kuyaqualiéti or harpy village.

/154 cont./

000 B 101 823 [115] between the Kulisehu and Kuluëne. In the first Bakaïrí village Paleko enumerated for me the Nahuquá villages of the Kuluëne and indicated the direction from Maigéri in which they were to be sought; starting at the upper course, there are: 1. Anuakúru Y 361 103 101 or Anahukú southeast, 2. Aluíti or Kanaluíti east, 3. Yamurikumá or Yaurikumá east to east-southeast, 4. Apalaquíri east-northeast, 5. Guikurú east-northeast, 6. Mariapé northeast. Beyond them came the Trumaí. Thus, with the Guapirí, the Yanumakapü, and the Nahuquá of the Kulisehu, we would have nine Nahuquá villages.

A S 361 In order to round out the picture, I shall also mention the Suyá, who live on the main river a journey of three short days below Schingú-Koblenz and of whom we did not see anything on the second expedition, but heard bad rumors, and the Manitsauá, who live on a left tributary that flows in farther downstream and are well known to the Kamayurá and Yaulapiti. A S 727 In 1884 we met a /155/ number of Manitsauá in captivity among the Suyá. Not until 1887 did we hear about the Yarumá Y 101 [648] or Arumá who, very soon after the Trumaí, were said to have had an unpleasant visit by the Suyá, and about whom the A [829] Y [301] Kamayurá gave us the remarkable information that they wore a metallic-sounding ear-ornament (cf. p. 104). It is probable that we must regard them as Mundurukú /Mundurucu/, the famous warrior tribe of the Tapajoz, whose trail we missed on the Schingú long ago. The Paressí called the Mundurukú "Sarumá," which is phonetically the same as Yarumá. A specimen of a club of Karajá-like /Caraja/ workmanship, which was Y S 101 attributed to the Yarumá, cannot invalidate the evidence presented in the agreement of the names. The Aratá lead an existence even more obscure to us; the Nahuquá asserted that they were Y [829] not worth anything, and the Suyá geographer described them as neighbors of theirs. A Karajá tribe?

C 361 Finally, I must also consider the Kayapó, likewise in the upper source region; they are said to live between the Kulisehu and the Kuluëne, above the Nahuquá, along the sources of the Pakuneru, the small Kulisehu tributary whose name is identical with the Bakaïrí name for the Paranatinga. The Suyá geographer

/246 cont./

*171 18 825 mental world in every art and science, no matter what it is called, and there can be no foundation for this other than their hunting culture.

000 The material interest in the animal precedes the formal or esthetic interest. The flower in art is secondary, exactly as it is in ornamentation; first the feather in the ear and then the little bunch of flowers on the hat. I saw araucarias portrayed in the "picture writing" of the virador in Rio Grande do Sul. A palm tree would be just as easy to draw as a pine, but no palm in the north furnishes such indispensable food as the araucaria formerly provided for the "bugre" /wild Indian/ of that southern province. Before art went after bread, if I may alter the meaning of the sentence somewhat, it went after meat and fish. I shall have to come back to this subject, especially in connection with the products of the ceramic art.

*171 212 532 ● 823 Sand drawings. They are at first a form of communication, like words. I have spoken of how the descriptive gesture readily and easily became a picture. Map drawings were the most common. Our second journey arose through the sand drawing of the arrangement of the upper Schingú, with which the Suyá geographer illustrated his statements; cf. page 126. "He enumerated all the tribes that are settled on the upper Schingú; in order to be quite clear, he drew the course of the river in the sand with his finger. To our greatest surprise, he drew the Batovy, the only one which he portrayed in this way, and, to be sure, entirely on his own initiative ,with corkscrew-like, tortuous course." (Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 213 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 104/.) The Batovy, as we learned to our sorrow, was a true River Meander.

*171 212 532 [126] /247/ We saw the same thing among the Kulisehu tribes. The number, sometimes of tribes, sometimes of rapids, was indicated by dashes. Circles were houses; wreaths of circles, villages, corresponding to the actual arrangement of the circular houses around the large plaza. All these figures were also drawn with pencil in our book, while the accompanying words were taken down as dictation. A certain individualization, as in the

/265 cont./

776 Bakairí: /266/ Kilaimo, Karoui, Iuanaguroro, and Topiehe. Kilaimo is a wandering spirit that wanders through the forest
[756] at night. Karoui is the sorcerer-doctor's enemy; he possesses
[224] an axe in the shape of a toad. Iuanaguroro is the lord of hunting; one of the sides of his chest is larger than the other, and he clasps against it and kills the Indians who offend him.
[825] Topiehe is a bird whose death would result inevitably in the
[823] death of the guilty party. There was also a lake inhabited by maleficent supernatural beings, and where animals reached gigantic proportions.

825 Capistrano de Abreu mentions the attribution of special powers to certain animals. Thus the lizard was the lord of sleep; the fox, of fire; the urubu, of benches; the sea snail, of the sun; the porcupine, of thorns; the kingfisher, of fishes; the deer, of manioc. (12)

12. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 242.

756 The sorcerer, piaji (piahi or piaje) performed very important functions among the Bakairí. Besides the function of curing illness, he performed such tasks as the prediction of enemy attacks, the localizing of game, the finding of lost objects, and interceding with supernatural beings when necessary.

753 For the Bakairí illness was always causedeither by hostile
[754] sorcerers or those in the service of enemies, orby spirits such as the iamüra, topiehe, iuanaguroro, or karoui. On being
756 called to heal a sick person, the piaji requested the assistance
755 of his guardian iamüra with the help of a gourdwhich he shook in accompaniment to songs of invocation. On examining the patient, the piaji decided upon the cause of the illness, whether it had been induced by an enemy or bya spirit. In the second case, the piaji would intercede with theoffended
000 spirit, appeasing it. But in the event the illnes had been